

THE **POLISH REVIEW**

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# POLAND — A TEST CASE

by TOMASZ ARCISZEWSKI, *Prime Minister of Poland*

IT HAS been rightly observed that the manner in which the Polish question was solved as a result of the present war would show whether that war had brought any fundamental change for the better in international relations or whether its untold sacrifices would have been made in vain. Indeed, if Poland were to come out of this war maimed, smaller in size and deprived of her fundamental independence, it would be in contradiction to all those moral values in whose name the soldiers of many countries have fought and perished during the last five and a half years. International atmosphere would be poisoned by Poland's wrong and a planned organization of universal security would be deprived of all moral basis. This must be taken into consideration by even those super-realist politicians who tend at the present time to treat lightly the affairs of the smaller or weaker nations. But moral inponderabilia are capable also in the long run of influencing the development of international relations fully as strongly as great industrial potentials or new military inventions.

The contribution of Poland to the cause of the United Nations is immense, in all certainty proportionately no less than that of any other Ally. If Poland in the year 1939 had not rejected German demands, but had accepted the role of satellite to the Third Reich as a number of other countries did, events could have taken quite another course. The German armies would have struck either at the unprepared countries of the West, whose military chances at that time were considerably worse than even in the spring of 1940, or at Russia. The Soviet Union in the autumn of 1939 was still far from the completion of its defense preparations, as Russian writers and politicians have themselves stated, and it is to be feared that at that time Russia might have been forced to capitulate to the armed might of the Hitlerian hordes. Poland, through her unaided, heroic resistance, gave the Western countries and Russia a number of precious months in which to complete preparations and thus, who knows, may have played a decisive role in paralyzing the German attack on the freedom of the world.

There is no doubt that without the resistance of our Western Allies and the armed forces of the Soviet Union, there could have been no question of breaking the German war machine. On the other hand I am often filled with bitterness at the lack of appreciation of Poland's role in the war. Poland gave literally everything. Five million Polish citizens were either killed in battle or cruelly murdered by the enemy; those who remained alive underwent untold suffering; our beautiful capital and other towns lie in ruins and our cultural wealth destroyed. Poland likewise, although she was not always treated in the manner to which her sacrifice and the stand she had taken entitled her, nevertheless during the whole war remained steadfastly loyal and faithful to the Allied cause. Her armies fight side by side with her great Allies on many fronts. We, among all the countries occupied by the Germans, are the only people who did not boast a single political collaborator.

The matter of relations between Poland and her eastern

neighbor is being given the greatest consideration by the government which I lead. We believe that between Poland and the Soviet Union not only should there not exist any fundamental contradiction of interests, but that on the contrary, both countries must be bound by mutual anxiety and a defensive attitude towards the danger from the west which in a changed form may again arise in the future. All questions of dispute between Poland and the U.S.S.R. may be regulated, if the principle of mutual respect for the vital interests of both parties in the political, territorial and economic fields is accepted as a basis. For negotiations on that basis, the Polish Government, as the sole legal representative of the Polish nation at home and abroad, stands always ready. The Polish government would welcome with greatest joy the initiation of such negotiations. The false stories, circulated in certain places, insinuating that the present Polish government is anti-Russian in character are thoroughly evil misrepresentations which as a result can only end in the poisoning of inter-Allied relations and the fruits of a common victory.

It is my deep conviction that only a just settlement of the Polish problem can create the bases for a strong and permanent organization for international security. Such an organization in my opinion not only should protect the world from the shocks of war but should also guarantee its members actual independence and the maintenance of their rights. I am convinced that in expressing these views I am in agreement with the aims and efforts of the United States, the great American democracy for which the whole Polish nation has always cherished the greatest respect.

(from NEW EUROPE, New York, N. Y., May, 1945)

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### CONTENTS:

Poland — A Test Case.

General Bor-Komorowski Reveals the Inside Story of the 1944 Warsaw Uprising.

Senator Taft Urges a Firm Stand on the Principles of International Justice.

Was Poland a Feudal Country?

It Happened Over Pantelleria!

From the Yellowed Pages of Warsaw's Past.

Only Yesterday—Now Seems Long Ago!

The Story of Subhuman Degradation.

Polish Government Statement on Underground Leaders Arrested by the Russians.

Front Cover: Heroines of the 1944 Warsaw Uprising liberated by Polish troops from a prisoner-of-war camp in Germany.



# General Bor-Komorowski Reveals the Inside Story of the 1944 Warsaw Uprising



**I**MPRISONED in Germany since the Warsaw Battle in 1944, General Tadeusz Bor-Komorowski, who was recently liberated by American troops and has resumed his duties as Commander-in-Chief of the Polish Armed Forces, held a press conference on May 18 in London. At the conference, General Bor made the following statement:

"In July, 1943, after the arrest of my predecessor, General Stefan Rowecki (General Grot) by the Gestapo, I assumed command of the Polish Home Army.

"Soldiers of this Home Army had no guns, tanks or planes like their fortunate compatriots who fought at the side of the British and American Forces, but they were just as eager to come to grips with the Germans.

"Our purpose was to work for the victory of the Allies, which alone could restore our country's independence. Our activities were directed against the production of food, equipment, munitions and all other war supplies for the Germans, and particularly against German transportation and communication lines.

"We also counteracted the terrorism of the occupying power, resisted its more inhuman methods and brought to justice some of the more brutal and criminal representatives of the occupying authorities. Our intelligence service which worked with the Allied High Command covered, in addition to the entire territory of Poland, Eastern Germany and the German-occupied part of Soviet Russia.

"Information forwarded by us to the Allies was more particularly concerned with German operational moves in the East, their war production and naval movements in Baltic ports. It was a great joy for us in July, 1944, shortly before the outbreak of the Warsaw Battle, to be able to send to Great Britain detailed description and even parts of the V-2 Bomb. Hans Frank (German Governor-General of Poland) and other German dignitaries had many times tried to find indirect channels through which they attempted to convey to me suggestions of common cooperation against Russia in connection with the Polish-Soviet dispute. Similar proposals and suggestions were conveyed to numerous representatives of the Polish people. All these German suggestions of



Scene from the Battle of Warsaw: Soldiers of the Polish Home Army newly equipped with sidearms parachuted from an RAF bomber.

cooperation, however, were always rejected outright.

"In accordance with instructions that I had received from my superiors in London towards the end of 1943, I ordered local commanders under me to embark upon an open struggle with the Germans and to support actively operations of the Soviet Forces from the moment that the front line was in the vicinity of their commands. These orders were strictly carried out and in 1944 during the Soviet offensive in Eastern Poland, our Home Army struck at the Germans in many areas, thus facilitating the Russian advance and their capture of several towns including Wilno, Lwow and Lublin.

"This cooperation with the Red Army, however, did not result in establishing lasting liaison with it on any level and on any scale exceeding that of the battle field in the strictest sense of the word. Being unable to establish liaison with the Soviet command through no fault of ours, I attempted to coordinate my operations with those of the Red Army on the basis of my own assessment of the military situation. I took into consideration the

*(Please turn to page 4)*



Scene from the Battle of Warsaw: Polish Home Army patrol on the streets of Warsaw. A dead German soldier lies in the foreground.



## GENERAL BOR-KOMOROWSKI REVEALS THE INSIDE STORY OF THE 1944 WARSAW UPRISING

constant and repeated calls of Soviet radio stations urging us to throw all our force against the Germans. One of these numerous appeals was broadcast by the Moscow radio on the 29th of July, 1944 which urged the people of Warsaw to rise in open battle.

"I issued the order to open the Battle of Warsaw on the First of August, 1944, at a time when the Red Army was at the very gates of our capital and when all military considerations seemed to indicate that the moment was ripe for opening battle in this region. I gave these orders in the belief that a battle begun inside the city by our forces would be immediately supported by the Soviet Forces, by a renewed offensive, by the bombing of German military objectives and by the dropping of war supplies for us. I don't propose either to accuse or to refute accusations, but I must stress that at the cost of stupendous sacrifices we have done everything that lay in human power to partake in our homeland in the Allied War Effort and to speed up our liberation. It was also our desire to show our good will and to make Polish-Soviet understanding possible by a joint struggle with our common enemy. It is a terrible tragedy for our nation that this aim has thus far not been achieved and that in the hour of victory over Germany, Poland has not recovered either her independence or her freedom. As for me personally, it is particularly tragic to know that thousands of my former soldiers are now filling Soviet prisons and concentration camps.

"I wish to stress that the moral authority of Great Britain, the United States and their leaders, along with the deep confidence which the entire Polish nation has in them, was for us a source of inspiration from which we drew the strength necessary to carry on with our struggle. In spite of the immense distances that separated us from British bases, the RAF gallantly supported our struggle against the Germans. One third of our supplies of arms came from Britain. I am convinced that friendship between the English-speaking nations and Poland, born from our brotherhood in arms in our joint struggle against Nazi tyranny, will outlast this war and that we shall find a common bond in our love of freedom."

Below are some of the questions asked General Bor during the press conference and his answers to them:

Q. There have been accusations that General Bor's treatment by the Germans was preferential. It has also been said that the Polish Home Army treated Jews badly.

A. 1. On the contrary, Polish Home Army officers were treated more severely than other prisoners of war, and several British officers can prove this.  
2. Any such information is slanderous. There were Jews in the ranks of the Polish Home Army, and they were never treated badly.

Q. What prevented the Red Army from helping the Polish Home Army at the time of the Warsaw rising?

A. The Russian Army was repulsed from the gates of Warsaw by a German counterattack from the north. They retreated to Siedlce. I have no reason to doubt that the retreat of the Russians was enforced.

Q. For about ten days around the middle of September, 1944; did the Russians drop supplies?

A. They flew very low over the city dropping supplies without parachutes. Consequently they arrived damaged. They also sent ammunition which was made for Russian firearms and therefore was useless to the Poles who were mostly using captured German guns. They also dropped some Russian arms.

Q. Moscow claims that General Bor was not in Warsaw during the uprising. Is that so?

A. I would treat this suggestion as ridiculous. Naturally, I never left the city.

Q. How were the members of the Home Army treated after the Russian occupation?

A. Russian troops readily collaborated with the Home Army at the time of my command, which was during the time of the battles in Eastern Poland. As soon as the fighting ceased the Polish officers were invited to conferences by the Russians under pretext of discussing future plans of cooperation, and were arrested by them. This occurred in Wolhynia, in the province of Wilno, Lublin and Lwow, and in many other towns in Eastern Poland.

Q. Are they still under arrest?

A. Yes, presumably, since we have had no news of them.

Q. About how many were arrested by the Russians?

A. Hundreds of officers and tens of thousands of troops were involved.

Q. Is there any truth in allegations made by the Russians that the Home Army caused the death of Russian officers?

A. Orders were issued by me to fight the Germans and to collaborate with the Russians. Perhaps it may have happened in self-defense in individual minor clashes with Soviet guerrillas.

Q. Was there any activity by Soviet partisans before the Russians entered Poland?

A. Soviet partisans did not display great activity before the approach of the Red Army. Their behavior in many instances toward the civilian population and the Home Army was regrettable.

Q. If the Russians kept shooting and killing the Poles, why did the Poles continue to collaborate with them?

A. We received arms from the Allies to fight the Germans and not the Russians. I believed that the common struggle against the Germans might establish better Russian-Polish relations. Therefore I gave the order to cooperate with the Russian forces. I did the utmost to establish collaboration, and my intentions are still to encourage good relations. All our attempts to collaborate were rejected by the Russians. Collaboration cannot be one-sided.

Q. Was there a Soviet liaison officer in Warsaw during the uprising?

A. No, there was no official liaison officer, but Captain Kalugin, claiming to be returning from intelligence work in Germany, put himself at the disposal of the Home Army  
(Please turn to page 14)



Scene from the Battle of Warsaw: An armored car captured from the Germans and used against its former owners by the Polish Home Army. The letters A.K. stand for "Armia Krajowa" (Home Army).



# Senator Taft Urges a Firm Stand on the Principles of International Justice

ON Sunday afternoon, May 20, 1945, three thousand Polish-Americans as well as representatives of Americans of Lithuanian, Estonian, Finnish, Latvian, Serbian and Slovak descent, met at a "Rally in Defense of Poland and Europe" at the New York City Center to hear prominent Americans demand a truly independent Poland, free from outside interference, and to adopt a resolution to President Truman, requesting him to take action with a view that Soviet violations of Allied agreements come to an end.

Thomas E. Dewey, Governor of New York, sent the following telegram to the meeting, which was held under the joint auspices of the American Polish Congress and the Coordinating Committee of American Polish Associations:

"The unprovoked attack on Poland by the barbaric hordes of Hitler has been avenged. The savage aggressors who would have ruled the world are now destroyed. It would be an ironic tragedy unsurpassed in modern history should the brave and gallant Polish nation, which was the first to bear the full weight of our enemy's attack and whose sacrifices and loyalty to the common cause have inspired us all, be now destroyed.

"We all must strive to prevent this and beseech Almighty God for his assistance in the cause of liberty and freedom for all nations, large and small. May God bless Poland and us all."

The opinion that Poland is the test case in any realization of democratic war aims, was voiced by Representatives Clare Boothe Luce of Connecticut and Jessie Sumner of Illinois, Republicans, and Philip H. Philbin of Massachusetts and Joseph F. Ryter of Connecticut, Democrats, and by Bertram D. Wolfe, author and lecturer.

Chief speaker at the rally was Robert A. Taft, Senior Senator from Ohio, chairman of the Republican Steering Committee in the Senate, and son of the 27th President of the United States. Below are excerpts from Senator Taft's address:

"I consider it a great privilege to be invited to address this great meeting of American-Polish Associations. This war began because Poland was unwilling to surrender its freedom to the brutal demands of the Nazi government. No people has suffered such destruction and slavery and systematic extermination as the Polish people. No soldiers have fought with more bravery and determination than Polish soldiers on every front throughout the world. I have had occasion to hear something of the magnificent work of the Polish army on the Italian front under the inspired leadership of General Anders. The world has seen no more heroic struggle than that conducted by the Polish Home Army under General Bor-Komorowski in Warsaw.

"I cannot express too forcibly my resentment at the disgraceful propaganda which is being carried on in this country today against the Polish people. It has dared to represent them as pro-German when Poland alone of the occupied nations produced not a single Quisling. Are the memories of our people so short that they cannot remember the year and a half during which Poland fought with the Allies and the Soviet government supported Germany? This propaganda represents Poland to be reactionary, controlled by a few landed proprietors when, as a matter of fact, it has a greater percentage of small farms than England or France. It is a propaganda designed wholly for political purposes without a shred of fact to support it. I can only say to you that the American people and Representatives in Congress are not deceived.

"After five and a half years of the most destructive war in the history of the world, the universal longing is for peace.



Senator Robert A. Taft of Ohio speaking at the Rally in Defense of Poland and Europe, May 20, 1945. Seated at the left is Bertram D. Wolfe, another speaker at the Rally.

Peace is a necessity because in the developments of science, war has become so terrible that the alternative to peace may well be the complete destruction of modern civilization. The great problem before the world is how that peace may be best assured. At the end of every war treaties have been written, all purporting to assure perpetual peace between the parties. Time after time international organizations have been established and have failed in their purpose. What we need is not propaganda for some particular scheme, but careful consideration of its soundness and reasonable criticism to improve it. Among the real services that have been performed by the San Francisco Conference is the substitution of argument and careful thought for a propaganda of hullabaloo to convince the people that the words written at Dumbarton Oaks were an unchangeable revelation.

"Peace is vital, but there is one necessity even above peace. That necessity is freedom. The people of the American Colonies preferred freedom to peace in 1776. The people of this country preferred war to slavery in 1861. The Polish people today are not interested in a peace which does not assure their freedom. This is the fundamental objection to a world state. Theoretically, such a state might insure peace more effectively than any international organization, but I would be wholly unwilling to submit the fortunes of the American people to an all-powerful state, the majority of whose citizens would have no sympathy for or even conception of American ideals. It is inconceivable to me that any statesman can favor a foreign sovereignty over our international affairs no matter what the safeguards. And a world state would have such sovereignty because it would have all the power. A world state would soon come to have the same power over our citizens which is enjoyed by the Federal Government over the citizens of our forty-eight states. I hope that there may be

(Please turn to page 11)



# WAS POLAND A FEUDAL COUNTRY?

ON MAY 17, 1945 over radio station WINS, New York City, Henry Milo, radio commentator, interviewed Miss Hester E. Hensell, noted American newspaper woman and former foreign correspondent. Below are excerpts from the interview:

*Mr. Milo:* My audience will be interested to know that I have in the studio this evening a very good friend, who is a former foreign correspondent and is now free-lancing.—Miss Hester E. Hensell. Good Evening, Hester, and welcome to our studio.

*Miss Hensell:* Good Evening, Henry Milo, and it is always a pleasure to be here.

*Mr. Milo:* Miss Hensell has just published an interesting little booklet entitled "Would You Call It Feudal?" Would you care to tell us something about it, Hester?

*Miss Hensell:* Yes, I became interested in all of the methods which are being used to confuse the issue over Poland and thought this one point should be cleared up in a short and concrete way. You see, Poland with a population of 35 million people in an area of 150,000 square miles felt that she had to take care of her workers. The government of Poland was based on socialist lines. In other words, the workers were really protected. The "little man" enjoyed a sense of almost complete security.

*Mr. Milo:* That is interesting and not generally known. Tell us more.

*Miss Hensell:* Well, an American friend of mine who worked in Poland has summed it up very well by this statement: "I had the most complete sense of security while working in Poland. I had the care of good doctors, dentists and specialists if I needed them. If unemployed, I received enough of my former salary over a period of time in order not to worry. Besides, I had to be given three months' notice before being fired or laid off. In case of accident I was amply taken care of and I could look forward to an old-age pension after 65 which would make me more than comfortable. And, after a year's employment, I was having four weeks paid vacation. All of the above on about 10% of my salary. It was worth it!" . . .

*Mr. Milo:* Indeed, that is a picture and out of the horse's mouth so to speak. I believe the Polish Constitution states that Labor is the main basis of wealth of the Republic and should remain under the protection of the State.

*Miss Hensell:* Yes, that is true. Also another interesting factor is that the Ministry of Labor and Social Welfare functioned on the theory, "Social Insurance in Poland is compulsory and universal and applicable to all businesses employing

five people or over. There were Labor Courts which settled Labor disputes, an Office of Labor Inspection, an Institute of Social Insurance, etc.—As early as 1919, an eight hour day was inaugurated in Poland for all workers in offices, factories, government and domestic employment while miners had a 7 and a half hour day.

*Mr. Milo:* Then I think you have written in your booklet that there were progressive ideas about the employment of women.

*Miss Hensell:* Yes, night work of women was forbidden while a list of occupations dangerous to their health was drawn up. A paid leave was allowed women for childbearing, plus six weeks afterwards, during which period of time they could not be dismissed.

*Mr. Milo:* What about firing people in Poland?

*Miss Hensell:* Well, Henry, notice of termination of contract had to be given to the extent of two weeks for laborers and three months for white collar workers, according to decrees issued on March 16, 1928.

*Mr. Milo:* Then what about paid vacations?

*Miss Hensell:* In 1922, an eight day paid vacation was provided for wage-earners. This was due after a year's employment and then a fifteen-day vacation was due after three years of employment. White-collar workers were given 28 days paid vacation. That is pretty generous, don't you think?

*Mr. Milo:* I know you have written about the amazing unemployment insurance benefits, sickness insurance and accident and old age insurance. It was really all taken care of very well.

*Miss Hensell:* Yes, I wish we had more time to discuss the whole picture of social laws in Poland for it is a fascinating subject.

The Nazis when they occupied Poland made a horrible farce out of Polish social law.. Polish workers were required to work from 60 to 72 hours, children of 12 years were sent to forced labor. No sanitary conditions, not enough to eat at any time and health conditions have made millions perish and others invalids for life.

The Poles thought that they had a job after the last war in coordinating the people, factories, lands and laws of the three parts of Poland previously for 123 years under German, Russian, and Austrian rule. This time, they will have the framework but the workers will indeed need courage to rebuild Poland and the health of Polish workers, not to mention its industry.

*Mr. Milo:* You really have hit on one of the problems of post-war Europe.



Top: Social Security Institute in Warsaw. Bottom: "Orderliness Means Safety," poster distributed in factories by the Institute of Social Welfare in Warsaw.



# IT HAPPENED OVER PANTELLERIA!

by BOHDAN ARCT

**A**PRIL 20, 1943 began overcast and gloomy on the desert and there was nothing to indicate that the weather would improve. Without the slightest enthusiasm we left camp before daybreak and crossed the sand dunes to our planes scattered about the edges of the airfield. In 15 minutes our daily work would begin.

Sleepy mechanics were already working on six of the planes, warming up the motors. The eastern horizon slowly grew lighter as the sun rose. Reddish yellow sunbeams penetrated the fog and ground mists.

It was cold and our tropical uniforms felt thin and uncomfortable. With our teeth chattering we hurried into the tent where the divisional intelligence officer, a genial young Afrikaner, disclosed newly received information.

"The Polish wing takes off in half an hour. You're to escort bombers over Tunisia, Cap Bon, and Pantelleria. You're to fly above them, with a Canadian Spitfire division under you. The bombers' objective is to attack enemy shipping."

We smiled doubtfully. For many weeks not a single German ship had dared even approach the coast of Tunisia. British destroyers, constantly patrolling the coast and the overwhelming Allied superiority of air power over the Western Desert had completely cut supply lines to the retreating *Afrika Korps*. The end of the North African Campaign was fast approaching.

Nevertheless the promise of renewed action improved our humor.

"Maybe this time they'll show up," began Maciek D., "then I'll be able to get one before the war ends." Maciek had never even seen a German plane though he'd been on many missions over the desert and some of his comrades already had downed a number of enemy ships.

Wacek K. glancing at his watch said, "Ten minutes, let's hope we have good weather, we'll never see a thing in this fog."

Fortunately the mists of early morning rolled into the little valleys, leaving the high ground clear. In two or three hours the desert would again be like an oven.

Our six Spitfires slowly taxied over to the landing strip and took off in a cloud of sand.

Circling the field we saw the sea before us, shining in the sunlight. We flew over the front lines and rising to an ever higher altitude we directed our course along the shore toward the tip of Cap Bon. Below us glistened the wings of Spitfires and still lower we saw Kittyhawks seemingly flying at the very water level.

We maintained radio silence cut only from time to time by curt orders from our squadron leaders. German artillery and ack-acks were strangely inactive.

We reached the end of the cape and banked in the direction of the island of Pantelleria. Six pairs of eyes carefully scanned the horizon. The field control room broke the silence.

"Hello, blue leader. Commander calling. Twenty plus bandits ahead of you!"

Wacek calmly acknowledged the message. We were all doubly careful, so much so that our eyes began to water in the strong sunlight. Pantelleria stuck out of the sea directly ahead of us. We could clearly see the little houses of some village and the white surf along the rocky shore.

I straightened up in my seat and tested my guns. Unless the field was very wrong the Germans must be somewhere immediately ahead of us.

Suddenly I felt a sort of electric shock. Far ahead of us I saw a line of speeding dots. Our radio control, this time speaking with a marked Lwow accent, warned us:

"Enemy aircraft ahead!"

In a second the dark spots had resolved themselves into the silhouettes of speeding *Messerschmitts*, about 20 109's. Evidently they just noticed us, for they banked sharply and swiftly rose above us.

Somehow, at that moment, I felt extremely happy.

"Now we've got you," I muttered to myself between clenched teeth.

No word of command was necessary, we all attacked as if by instinct. The air reverberated to the roars of speeding engines. Six against 20, but those six were all veterans of fights in Poland, France and England, men who had sworn to fight to the death with any Germans they ever met.

I opened fire with my machine guns, picking out one of the Me's as my particular target, some 2,000 feet ahead. He was trying to get the blinding bright sun out of his eyes.

"You're mine," I muttered going after him.

The German levelled off and sped away. I pursued him some 1,600 feet behind. Noticing me still on his tail, he began to turn and spin. This only brought me up closer to him. Once more I pressed hard on my machine gun trigger in the stick. I kept on firing until my guns were empty.

Suddenly behind my German I thought I saw another slender shadow that looked like another Me. I had difficulty in swallowing for a moment, but shading my eyes from the sun I saw at second glance that it was a thin but growing streak of smoke.

(Please turn to page 11)



General Anders, acting Commander-in-Chief of the Polish Armed Forces, chats with Polish airplane mechanics.



# From the Yellowed Pages of Warsaw's Past



## THE GREAT FOUR YEAR DIET OPENS

"Having convened in a brilliant and uncommonly numerous Diet, the Estates of the Republic assembled in our capital, began their deliberations on the day before yesterday."

"In the morning of that day, following the meeting of the illustrious Senators, Ministers and Deputies in the Royal Apartments, the King came out of his Chamber and accompanied them all to our Collegiate Church to attend a Solemn Mass . . . After the service, the King and his Senators and Ministers made their way to the Senate, while the Deputies proceeded to the Assembly House . . ."

"By a unanimous vote, thrice repeated, the Assembly invited M. Stanislaw Malachowski, Arbitrator of the Crown, Deputy from the Voivodeship of Sandomierz, and a universally revered statesman who has done much for his Country, to accept the Marshal's staff."

—GAZETA WARSZAWSKA (Warsaw Gazette), October 8, 1788.



## NAPOLEON IN THE POLISH CAPITAL

"Through an incomprehensible and miraculous decree of fate, the ancient capital of the Piasts and Jagiellons yesterday became the equal of the leading capital of the world by welcoming to its bosom the Victor over the mightiest Potentates. —Hero of two centuries, Lawgiver of peoples, Terror of the oppressors and Wonder of the entire world, Napoleon the Great is already within its walls."

—GAZETA WARSZAWSKA, December 20, 1806.



## INAUGURATION OF THE UNIVERSITY

"On the 14th of this month a ceremony took place which will be counted among the most magnificent events of the Polish nation—the ceremony inaugurating the Royal Warsaw University . . . This inauguration was celebrated in the Church of the Holy Cross to which the Rector, Deans, Professors, auditors and students of the University proceeded by faculties led by the Deans and appropriate professors . . . The solemnities began at eleven o'clock in the morning, and were announced to the Capital by the echo of bells in all the churches . . ."

—GAZETA KORRESPONDENTA WARSZAWSKIEGO I ZAGRANICZNEGO (Gazette of the Warsaw and Foreign Correspondent) May 19, 1818.



## THE KOSCIUSZKO INSURRECTION

"Proclamation of April 19, 1794, to the People at Large by the provisional Acting Council of the Free City of Warsaw under the Leadership of Tadeusz Kosciuszko, on the recent Warsaw Revolution."

"Suffering constant oppression equally with the whole Land . . . we have taken to arms . . . we have done what we could, we have even done more than we could, for in our enterprise, Providence has conferred its blessing upon us. We hasten, therefore, to inform you of this, Fellow-Citizens, we hasten with that trust which never permitted us to doubt your zeal. The question is not only to assure an auspicious existence for Yourselves, but also to bring happiness to those who will come after You, and who, recalling Your deeds with adoration, will bless us because out of them was born our beloved but hitherto oppressed Motherland."

Ignacy Wyssygotta Zakrzewski  
President of the City of Warsaw."

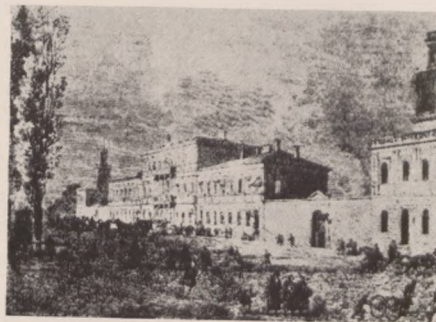
—GAZETA POWSTANIA POLSKI (Gazette of Poland's Uprising), April 24, 1794.



## HORSE RACING BEGINS IN WARSAW

"At four in the afternoon, that part of the city adjacent to Lazienki Park and the Mokotow turnpike began to fill with countless carriages . . . Mounted horsemen rode along the side boulevards. Four-horse omnibuses periodically deposit racing devotees at the toll-gates, while a huge open char-a-bancs, drawn by six post horses, with two postillions in gala dress sounding trumpets in unison or by turns, moves down the middle of the street. Seated in one omnibus are a number of gay blades, cigars between their teeth, champagne in their hand, riding-whip in hand, and the red tickets of racetrack stock-holders in their handbags! . . . In front of them a tiny jockey, in a crimson velvet jacket paces his white horse."

—BIBLIOTEKA WARSZAWSKA (Warsaw Library), July 1841.



## WARSAW'S FIRST RAILROAD

"The day before yesterday was marked by the opening of the Warsaw-Vienna Railroad . . . The celebrations lasted from three o'clock to late evening. They began with ten locomotives, bedecked with flowers, passing at full speed before the invited guests to the strains of music. After this review, completely new to us, the distinguished guests left by separate train at half-past three for Grodzisk, thus far the last station on the railroad line. At five, a second train followed them, carrying 600 persons from all walks of life—representatives of our city invited to witness the act of opening the road, which act will soon have important and great consequences for their fellow-citizens."

—GAZETA WARSZAWSKA, June 16, 1845.



## PREMIERE OF POLAND'S NATIONAL FOLK OPERA

"Yesterday the Teatr Wielki opened a new season with the long awaited opera by Stanislaw Moniuszko, 'Halka.' In this work our eminent Composer revealed to us all the beauties of harmony in which his uncommon talent abounds. From the overture to the opera's last number, the satisfaction of the audience was expressed in constant applause, and justly so, for many were the melodies in it that appeal to the heart, and how they were rendered! The orchestra under the direction of Quattrini, the artists and chorus also did their share in worthily interpreting the Composer's thoughts . . . At the end, Mr. Quattrini received three curtain calls, Miss Rivoli and Mr. Dobrski fourteen, Messrs. Troschel and Ziolkowski six and Moniuszko six . . ."

—KURJER WARSZAWSKI, January 2, 1858.



## MODRZEJEWSKA ACTS IN WARSAW

"At the present moment the theatre is the favorite entertainment of Warsawians. Long lines at the box-office have made their reappearance, tickets are being reserved several weeks in advance and frequent complaints may be heard regarding their scarcity. These miracles have been achieved by Mme Modrzejewska, who renders each of her performances illustrious by the scoring of a fresh success."

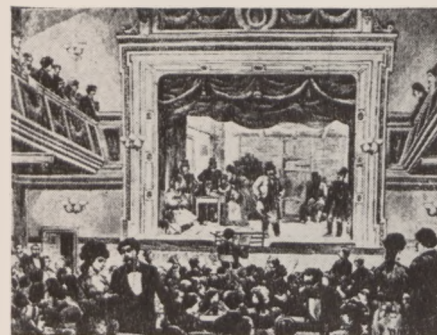
—TYGODNIK ILLUSTROWANY (Illustrated Weekly), October 24, 1868.



## NEWSPAPER KIOSKS

"This is one of twelve, recently built in Warsaw, for it must be told that the idea for them was borrowed from Paris . . . Their purpose is chiefly business advertising as well as the sale and subscription of newspapers. A few days ago, the inauguration of this enterprise took place."

—KŁOSY (Sheaves of Grain), May 23, 1877.



## A NEW THEATRE OPENS

"Under the modest name of Small Theatre, there has recently come into being a third permanent disciple of Melpomene, constituting with the Variety Theatre and the Grand Theatre, a trifolium of the Polish stage in Warsaw. The drawing acquaints our readers with the interior of the Small Theatre as it looked during the opening performance."

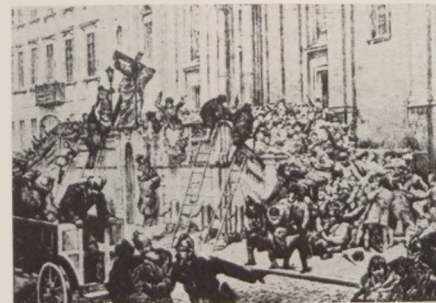
—KŁOSY, January 27, 1881.



## HORSE-DRAWN STREET-CARS

"At long last, on October 18th of this year Warsaw saw the long awaited carriages of horse-drawn street-railways moving along its streets. The railway's management purchased beautiful horses and has provided comfortable carriages set off into two classes, each of which has six seats. Besides this, several persons can be accommodated on the spacious porch."

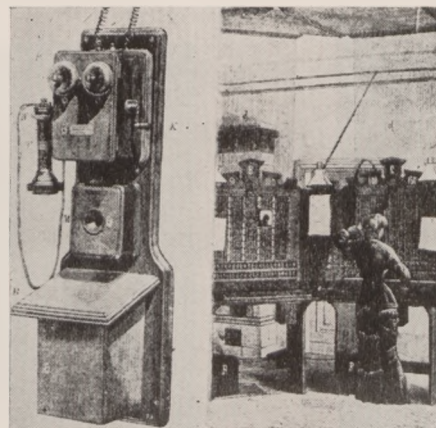
—KŁOSY, November 10, 1881.



## TRAGEDY STRIKES KRAKOWSKIE PRZEDMIESCIE STREET

"A false alarm impelled hundreds of worshippers to rush toward the door; in panic the crowd collided, created a bottle-neck and surged out onto the stone steps in front of the church. The fire department, summoned to the scene, had to help in carrying out the dead, the injured, the unconscious and those victims of the horrible accident who were writhing with pain."

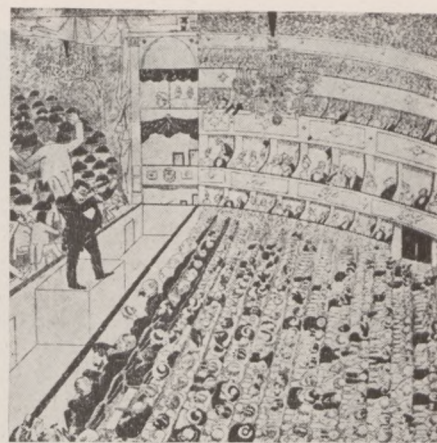
—KŁOSY, January 19, 1882.



## TELEPHONES ARE HERE TO STAY

"Telephone communication in Warsaw, installed several months ago, is expanding more and more favorably . . . What services this new institution will bring to our city, our readers will best be able to judge for themselves—when they will experience the need of summoning the quick aid of the doctor or the pharmacist, or notifying the fire department, or doing business with banks, bankers, merchants, factories and distant residing clients, friends, etc., etc."

—KŁOSY, November 9, 1882.



## VIOLIN RECITAL BY BARCEWICZ

"Barcewicz stands on the stage and with his violin bow weaves a spell around his listeners. In this drawing, our artist has captured to perfection the collective physiognomy of the audience, showing an amazing variety of types and a characterization of all elements, including orchestra seats, several sections of boxes, the balcony and peanut gallery. He has rendered with excellent humor and accurate observation the multitude of music lovers' heads expressing all degrees of interest, appreciation and temperament."

—TYGODNIK ILLUSTROWANY, February 9, 1889.



## THE REVOLUTION OF 1905

"Warsaw today looks like a besieged city. Mounted Cossacks and gendarmes are stationed at street intersections. Military patrols and units of every branch of the army parade up and down. The accumulated energy of these 'warriors' finds an outlet in shooting at boys who close shops or stop hacks. Yesterday, several were killed. The time is not long in coming, handits, when you will be handsomely repaid for your deeds. Warsaw does not remember manhunt on such a scale as those arranged nightly by the tsar's thugs . . ."

—ROBOTNIK ('The Worker,' an underground publication), December 30, 1905.



Poniatowski Bridge in Warsaw, blown up by the retreating Russians in 1915.

## WARSAW, THE TIME HAS COME TO SPEAK!

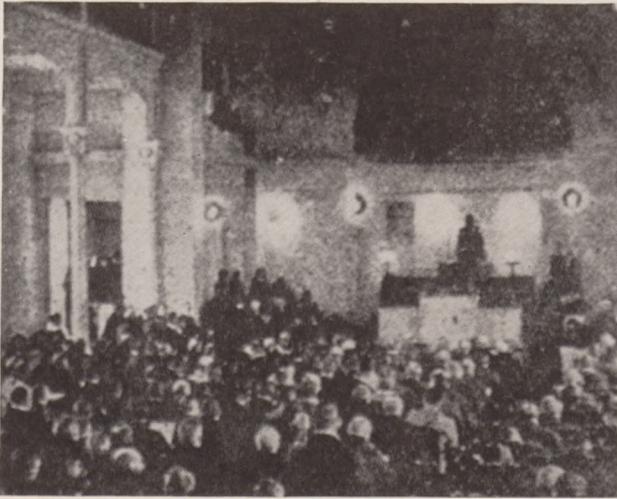
"At last! At last, after one hundred years the Russian invader has been forced to withdraw . . . 'Warsaw, let your voice be heard! Look, in the rays of a new dawn for Poland, Polish legions are converging on Warsaw. In these legions have been reborn the loftiest ideals of Kosciuszko, Poniatowski and Dabrowski, and the ideals of the insurrections of 1831 and 1863 . . ."

"Warsaw! Freedom can be won only by blood and limitless sacrifice. Confident that you wish to be free, we appeal to you with a single word—speak!"

—GONIEC WIECZORNY (Evening Messenger), August 5, 1915.



# Only Yesterday — Now Seems Long Ago!



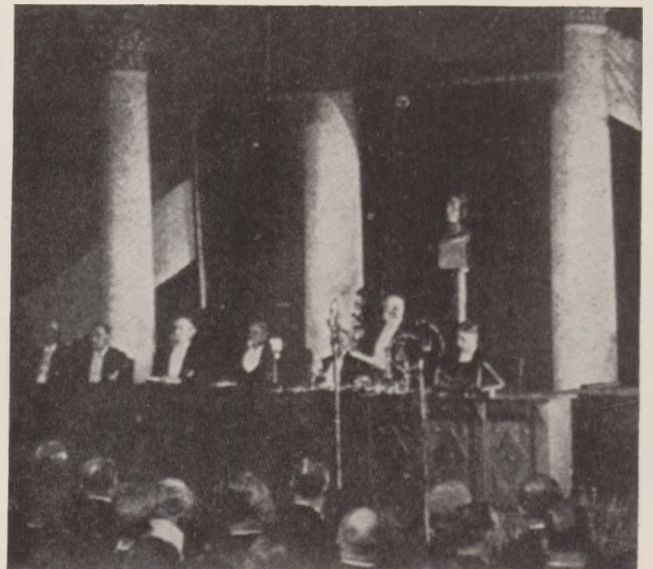
Opening of the First Diet of the reborn Republic of Poland, Warsaw, February 10, 1919.



Inauguration of the Penal Code of Poland, July 11, 1932.



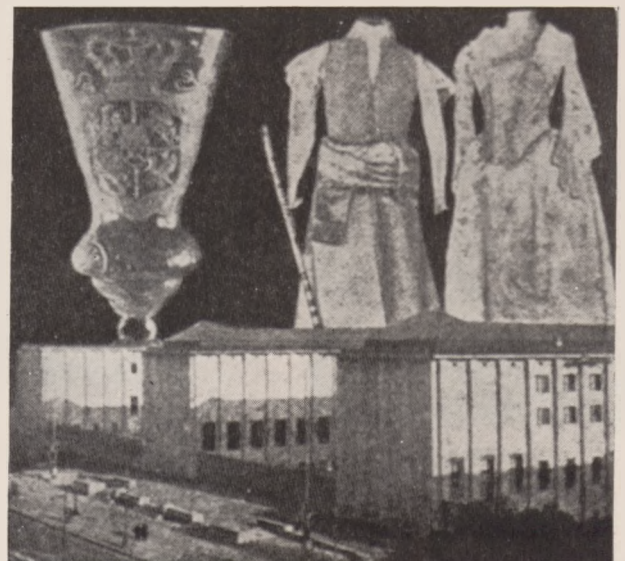
The Government of National Defense was formed on July 20, 1920, during the war against the Bolshevik invaders. Premier Wincenty Witos (at left) poses with Ignacy Daszyński, leader of the Polish Socialist Party. Mounted on the photograph are slogans of 1920: "Hey! Whoever is a Pole, Charge with your bayonet!" "Everything for the front! Everyone to the front!" "To Arms!"



Inauguration of the Polish Academy of Literature in Warsaw, November 8, 1933.



Opening of Warsaw's Polish Radium Institute named after Maria Skłodowska Curie, May 29, 1932.



Opening of the National Museum in Warsaw, June 18, 1938.



## SENATOR TAFT URGES A FIRM STAND ON THE PRINCIPLES OF INTERNATIONAL JUSTICE

(Continued from page 5)

no such conflict between peace and freedom in the post-war world, for if there is, the human desire for freedom is likely to destroy the peace.

"... I have always favored a League of Nations under which all agree that they will submit all disputes to arbitration and adjudication, and that they will abide by the result of an impartial international tribunal. This implies a preliminary unanimous agreement to a law of nations by which disputes may be determined on the basis of justice and not power. If world opinion exists to back such a procedure, the organization should further be empowered to call upon its members to provide force against anyone who does not keep its agreement to abide by an official decision. Undoubtedly, we would have found many people in America unwilling to agree to submit our own international disputes to a decision of a foreign tribunal, but I believe that if the jurisdiction had been carefully defined to exclude matters of internal concern, the American people would have joined such an organization.

"The question does not arise because Russia has refused to go along. Russia has insisted that it must have a veto power over any decision and over the use of force. Consequently, every one of the five great powers is given the same veto power. I don't believe the people of this country have realized how this changes the whole character of the organization. The existence of a veto power, particularly on the rendering of a decision, makes almost impossible the establishment of an international law since nothing can be law from which nations may exempt themselves. Not only is the organization helpless against the great powers themselves, but it is helpless against all of their satellites. For instance, if Bulgaria, with the consent of Russia, should attack Roumania, Russians could veto any action against Bulgaria, and this might easily be arranged in advance . . .

"The second difficulty is that in which Poland is so much concerned, the danger that we may set up political settlements containing in themselves the seeds of future war. We see today the unfortunate acquiescence of the world in the incorporation of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania into Russia. We see boundaries apparently determined by unilateral action before the question has been considered by the world. The eastern boundary of Poland is certainly unfair to Poland today. Under the Yalta agreement the boundaries of Ger-

many and of the countries of Southwestern Europe were to be settled at the peace conference, but they are being determined on the basis of power and not of justice. It is the apparent intention of Russia to attach the province of Brandenburg to Poland and to establish Poles both in Frankfurt and Stettin. The occupation of that province will provoke a constant protest from the German inhabitants and may give Russia an excuse to maintain an army in Poland to prevent its recovery by Germany.

"But even more discouraging is the apparent intention of Russia to dominate the governments of Poland and other countries in eastern Europe by maintaining in power governments whose members' first loyalty is to Russia. No reasonable man can doubt that the Lublin government will prefer the dictates of Stalin to the wishes of the Polish people. Under such conditions Poland is not free. The loyal members of the underground army under a specious pretext are railroaded to prison and perhaps to death, although they fought as bravely against the Germans as any of our Allies. Surely, the best test of freedom is whether the Polish armies fighting throughout the world can return and settle down in their homes in Poland. It is clear today that they cannot do so without the danger of sudden transportation to Siberia. Under these circumstances, Poland is no more free than are Estonia, Latvia or Lithuania. How far the same condition exists in Bulgaria, Roumania, Hungary, Vienna and Yugoslavia it is impossible to say. The gravest suspicions are correctly aroused because the Russians have almost completely excluded from these countries, not only all independent newspaper reporters, but even the representatives of allied governments. It is ridiculous to hope that future peace in eastern Europe can be based on the destruction of freedom for many peoples who have been and who yearn to be free.

"We can only hope that this condition can be corrected at or before the peace conference. Certainly, we cannot and should not go to war with Russia, but we can take our stand firmly on the principles of international justice, and unless we do the San Francisco Conference is a futile gesture. Before the agreement at Yalta, which was perhaps misunderstood by the Russians, their attitude was entirely different. Surely we can present to them forcibly the reasons why their present policy must be reversed. Incidentally, I see no reason why we should continue lend-lease to Russia under present conditions . . ."

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## IT HAPPENED OVER PANTELLERIA !

(Continued from page 7)

By now I wasn't any further than 400 feet from him. I could plainly see the markings on the enemy plane. It was a perfect set-up except that I was out of ammunition, and the Messerschmitt, although smoke was pouring out of his fuselage, flew on.

Waiting any longer would have been dangerous, for I heard some planes flying above me, they could be Germans. Sadly I decided to abandon my prize before being able to confirm the kill and turn back. As if he read my thoughts, the German suddenly dipped one wing and then plummeted down, hitting the waves and disappearing in a fountain of white foam.

I sped away, flying low over the Mediterranean toward the African shore. "This," I thought "is the time to see what

the other fellows have done." So I told them over my radio about the Me. I got and asked if everyone was all right.

"I got one too, he fell into the sea," Zygmunt's voice replied.

"I shot down a Heinie," Wacek cut in.

"Over here I ran into an Italian."

"So did I, he burned beautifully."

"There were some over my way too!"

Six of us had flown out from the sandy Goubrine airfield and six were returning, each of us with one kill to add to his score. The commander of the Western Desert Air Force got our report pronto.

"Polish Team intercepted 20 Messerschmitt 109's and Macchi 202's and shot down six of them. Our losses, nil."



# THE STORY OF SUBHUMAN DEGRADATION

GERMANS PLANNED TO USE POLISH

PW's AS LIFE-LONG HARD LABORERS

IN APRIL and May of this year, Polish prisoners of war and slave laborers in Germany, some of whom had been held there for almost six years in the brutal, inhuman concentration camps, were liberated by the victorious Polish, American and British Armies, to tell for the first time their stories of the incredible bestiality with which their captors had treated them.

German plans for Poles, soldiers, civilians, and even officers, in their new world order as expressed openly in a special plan conceived in 1940, were to deport all Polish prisoners of war to the African colonies, in the conquest of which the Germans did not doubt for one minute, according to General Julius Rummel, one of the Polish heroes of the 1939 Campaign recently liberated after nearly six years of captivity. Thus, the Poles were to be condemned to life-long hard labor. The above-mentioned plan was worked out to the smallest details, but in 1945, the Germans considered it safer to destroy it. General Rummel told correspondents upon his liberation.

General Rummel who was freed from the prison camp of Murnau, continued in his declaration made on April 30th: "During the whole time of my stay in the prison camp—from 1939—the relationship between ourselves and the German



For five years this small room in the prisoner of war camp at Dossel, Germany, housed 16 Polish officers.

authorities was completely hostile. Throughout that time the German authorities tried to break our spirit. They did everything they could to turn our men against their officers, and to sow mistrust among the younger officers toward their superiors. Officers of Jewish origin were put into a 'ghetto.'

"All of these obvious attempts were turned down with contempt by the Poles. Moreover, we felt something almost like pity for the primitive methods that the Germans used. Our attitude was uncompromising and unchangeable. The atmosphere among the prisoners was healthy, based on the patriotism and common outlook and ideas held by all. On the other hand, the attitude of our German guards and camp authorities toward us closely reflected the situation of the Germans on the war fronts.

"In 1943 the Germans tried to entice the Poles into collaboration against Russia. Many representatives of the German civil administration as well as military authorities visited me in camp in an attempt to learn from me the attitude of the other Polish officers.

"The Geneva Convention was brutally and systematically violated, because the Germans considered themselves strong enough to get away with their actions. Our living quarters were very bad and sometimes we were not allowed to leave the camp for six

months even to take walks.

"That we did not die of hunger was due only to the parcels sent by our families in Poland who denied themselves everything in order to help us. Often the German authorities in Poland would persecute these families for sending the parcels.

"I most emphatically confirm that the Germans broke all the rules and deprived us of all our rights as prisoners of war. Officers were dragged from the camp and put at the disposal of the Gestapo, who persecuted and tortured them. There were many death sentences. Both officers and men were persecuted for their heroism during the September Campaign. The camp authorities made a point of insulting our national feelings in every way possible. The camp authorities made us turn out for roll call in pouring rain, put out our lights before curfew time and did not always deliver our mail and parcels.

"When the Polish generals were brought to Murnau, they were forced to march through the streets while German guards insulted them. The Germans also used to fire at prisoners for sport. As soon as the camp was liberated, the Polish officers of Jewish origin who had been put into the 'ghetto' were reunited with the rest of us."



At long last Polish prisoners of war prepare to leave a camp in Germany.

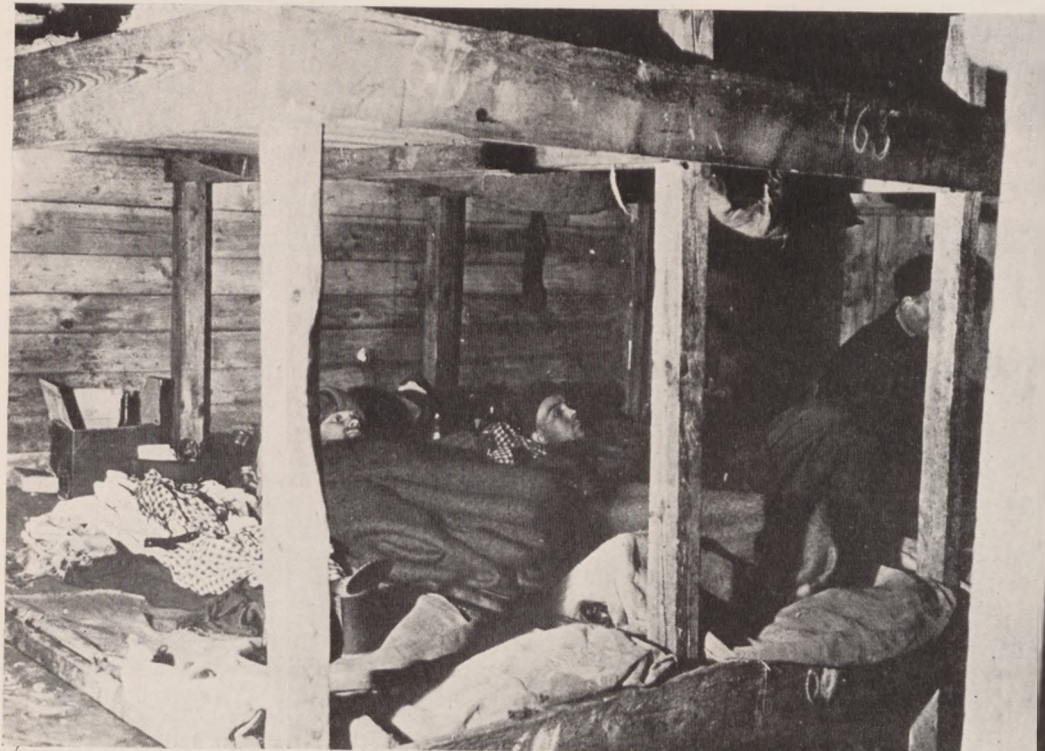
Stories from camps in every part of the Reich corroborate the General's statement. One Polish front line correspondent cabled from Germany: "Strange things were happening in Germany during the last week of war. A Polish lawyer from Poznan, who was an officer of the Home Army, drove through the whole German occupied area in order to reach American lines. He succeeded merely by telling the Germans that he was looking for a transport of prisoners from which he had escaped.

"There was a group of unarmed Polish doctors and nurses and unarmed helpers of the prisoner of war hospital at Tangerhuete who seized control even before the Americans arrived. Their chance came on April 11th when some German guards were repairing a barbed wire fence around the hospital. Those German guards unexpectedly found themselves behind the barbed wire, disarmed. The Poles kept them there until an American tank column arrived. When the American commanding officer heard their story, he appointed the Poles civil authorities until the American Military Government could take over. When the latter did reach Tangerhuete, they presented the Poles with a document stating that they had actively contributed to the success of the advancing armies.

(Please turn to page 14)



Women soldiers of the Polish Home Army imprisoned in Holland report to a colonel of the First Polish Armored Division that liberated them.



Few Polish prisoners of war left this unsanitary "hospital" alive.



## THE STORY OF SUBHUMAN DEGRADATION

*(Continued from page 13)*

Then the Americans gave the Poles a captured German car and food and let them move on to meet the Polish Armored Division."

There were thousands and even hundreds of thousands of Poles to be found in every major German concentration camp, including the most notorious, Dachau, Belsen, Buchenwald and Nordhausen; men, women and children, some even born as prisoners of war to mothers who had participated in last year's heroic Battle of Warsaw.

One of the most shocking of all the camps was a special one for women located outside of Leipzig where among other things, the Germans put 80 women through medical "experiments."

Of the 6,500 women held in that camp 1,768 were Poles imprisoned for political reasons. Four days before the Americans came, the Germans evacuated the camp, leaving behind only 200 women prisoners, those who were too ill or too weak to be moved.

One of these women, Irene Todtleben, told a Polish war correspondent that only a small field separated the camp from an execution ground for Jews, and that mass killings of Jews took place daily in full sight of the women, while an orchestra played from dawn till night.

Otylia Maik, another Polish prisoner, added her bit to the story of the camp: "In September, 1942, 300 women from Warsaw and Lublin were brought to the camp. The women from Warsaw, all of whom were distinguished political workers, were segregated in dark cells so that it was difficult for us to contact them. Every evening a number of them were taken to a nearby forest, from which we would presently hear machine gun fire. Later their clothing would arrive in the camp laundry, covered with blood and full of bullet holes.

"From the Lublin women, 'rabbits' were chosen on whom experimental operations were carried out. Eighty young, healthy women from Lublin were chosen for these operations. Bone and muscle operations, as well as experiments with tuberculosis and tetanus injections were made on them. Each of these women, during her two year stay in the camp, passed through at least seven operations or other medical experiments.

"Only 50 of them lived through the ordeal and even these survivors were in a tragic state, extremely thin, half paralyzed and crippled, their legs completely deformed."

The survivors told the correspondent that Polish women were singled out for especially bad treatment and were beaten under any pretext whatsoever. For tying a scarf around their heads in a manner even slightly contrary to regulations, they were held 24 hours in small cement cells without food or light. For other offenses, they would be locked in such cells for 14 days. If their prison numbers were incorrectly sewn on their clothing, they would be lashed 25 times with rubber truncheons. Beating the prisoners' faces or kicking them in the abdomen or back was a favorite everyday sport for the SS women jailers.

The prisoners were forced to rise at 4 a. m. and worked 14 hours daily. They lived in unheated barracks so dirty that they swarmed with vermin. Conditions were so bad that even the survivors are women with broken health and nerves.

Just before the Americans came, the women saw the camp fired, after they themselves had been evacuated. The Germans were trying to wipe out all trace of their brutality. Had they succeeded, the remaining 200 "slaves" would have burned to death in the process.

That was but one camp.

In Buchenwald, 3,500 Poles were found among the prisoners. They were the sole survivors of a group of 50,000 whom the Germans evacuated before the Allies took the camp. In Nordhausen, 20% of the 20,000 prisoners were Poles.

Another Polish correspondent who visited the oldest and what many consider the worst of all the concentration camps in the Reich, Dachau in Bavaria near Munich, writes:

"I made several visits to the most horrible German concentration camp, Dachau, where, according to the lowest estimates, some 200,000 prisoners died of starvation, and torture, among them many thousands of Poles.

"At present there are still about 30,000 inmates here, among them 10,000 Poles and 4,000 Polish Jews. Visits to the camp were made difficult because of the threat of epidemics. Railway cars still standing at the camp's entrance were filled with some 2,000 dead Jews who had been brought here from a camp at Kaufering and who had starved to death on the way. Only 17 of the entire transport arrived alive."

These are but a few of the almost unbelievable stories coming from Polish prisoners of war recently liberated by the American and British Armies. Many more are yet to come when and if the Red Army lifts the screen of silence that it has imposed upon those parts of Germany which it occupies and now administers.

## GENERAL BOR-KOMOROWSKI REVEALS THE INSIDE STORY OF THE 1944 WARSAW UPRISING

*(Continued from page 4)*

on the second day of the uprising. He sent a message to Stalin through Home Army channels, but received no reply. The Soviet Government did not accept his services. In September, two Soviet officers, bearing radio sets to direct the fire of the Soviet artillery from Praga, were parachuted into Warsaw.

Q. Was there any coordination with the Soviets before the Uprising?

A. Before the Uprising I tried to establish contact, but all emissaries were arrested. At the outbreak of the Uprising I informed London that the Uprising had begun, and asked them to communicate this to the Russians and ask for their assistance.

Q. Were the emissaries arrested by the Russians or stopped by the Germans?

A. Contact officers were regional commanders of the Polish

Home Army trying to contact their Russian opposite numbers. Information on their arrest was given by their assistants and subordinates, some of whom escaped arrest.

Q. Surely the aim of the Russians was to cross the Vistula. Why did they not take advantage of the fact that the opposite bank was occupied by the Poles? And would it not have been to their advantage to give assistance?

A. During the Russian attack on Praga we received indirect help from the Russians who, in order to clear the bridgehead of Germans, sent fighters over Warsaw during the three days which were the only period when the city was free of German planes. The matter of dropping supplies was dealt with previously, and we received an indirect form of assistance when Soviet guns were shelling German positions on the western bank of the river. The Russians made no use of the Polish occupation of War-

*(Please turn to page 15)*



# Polish Government Statement on Underground Leaders Arrested by the Russians

In connection with Stalin's reply to questions included in the letter of the London *Times*' Moscow correspondent, the Polish Telegraph Agency was authorized to publish the following statement on May 22, 1945:

"1. There can be no doubt that the arrested Polish leaders had been invited by Soviet authorities for negotiations. The Polish Government possesses the text of a letter by which Colonel Pimenov of the NKVD invited Vice-Premier Jan Jankowski and Major General Leopold Okulicki, former Commander-in-Chief of the dissolved Home Army, for political conversations. Before Vice-Premier Jankowski left for these conversations he examined the authenticity of the letter and received confirmation that Colonel Pimenov extended the invitation on behalf of Colonel General Ivanov, who described himself as representing the Command of the First White Russian Army.

"2. Colonel Pimenov described the Soviet Objective as: clarification of the atmosphere and disclosure of democratic Polish parties, in order that they could take part in the general trend of democratic forces in independent Poland. On March 27th and 28th, the Vice-Premier of the Polish Government, three Ministers, the Chairman of the Council of National Unity, the former Commander-in-Chief of the dissolved Home Army, representatives of the principal political parties and an interpreter arrived at the appointed place to continue political conversations with General Ivanov, on one hand having assurance of personal safety and, on the other, a definite promise that on March 29th 12 representatives of the Polish resistance movement would be given a plane to go to London for consultation with the Polish Government and Polish political circles. After consultations the delegates were to return to Poland for further conversations.

"3. In the course of introductory conversations which were held between March 17th and 27th, Jankowski asked Pimenov where the boundary line lay between the territorial extent of the authority of the Lublin Committee, on one hand, and the Red Army, on the other, to which he received the reply that the Committee must comply with directions it received from the Command of the First White Russian Army, which it must consider as binding. This explains why the Soviet Government attaches such great importance to the Lublin Committee's remaining the main nucleus of the future Polish Government.

"The Polish Telegraph Agency also learned that when the parties interested give their consent there will be published a collection of documents exhaustively illustrating the method of disclosure of Polish leaders, and containing reports of the conversations held before their arrest."

**Comment by *Dziennik Polski*, official organ of the Polish Government in London, on May 23, 1945.**

"Stalin's talks, articles and interviews play an exceptional part in Soviet policy. His so-called 'replies' to questions asked by journalists and correspondents, both Soviet and foreign, are especially characteristic.

"As it happens, Stalin's concrete replies always coincide with a turning point in Soviet policy. We are inclined to consider Stalin's reply (May 11) given to Ralph Parker, Moscow correspondent of *The Times*, as such a turning point. A keen analysis clearly proves that this reply, apparently aimed at Poland and the Polish Government, in reality was meant for someone else.

"The aim of this reply was not the solution of the Polish question either. Its aims were far more universal. In order to prove that it was not the question of the Polish Government that Stalin is interested in, it is enough to state that the Polish Government in London never maintained that the arrested Polish democratic leaders 'carried out negotiations with Soviet authorities.'

"From its first announcement the Polish Government affirmed that the Soviet authorities deported these Polish democratic leaders, whom they had invited for political talks and to whom they had promised the possibility of direct contact with the Polish Government in London.

"The Polish Government described those leaders not as carrying out negotiations with Soviet authorities, but as invited for alleged negotiations, who then disappeared. Unfortunately, a certain section of the foreign press—drawing its information from a source unknown to the Polish Government—affirmed that the vanished Polish democratic representatives 'carried out negotiations.' Some journalists as, for instance, Cummings, or the special correspondent of the *Observer* went so far in their optimism that daily they foretold better results for the Polish cause, which were to result from those negotiations. They even accused the Polish Government of having spread the news—for reasons of political sensation—that those leaders had disappeared when, in their opinion, they were merely carrying out 'friendly negotiations.' In the light of those facts all these optimistic steps must be considered an inspiration of the interested parties, aiming not only at the Polish question.

"Furthermore it must be said that, on the basis of its right to protect the rear of the Soviet Army from 'diversionist activities' the Soviet Government obtained the names of the arrested men from the British and United States Governments. These Governments received the names in question from the Polish Government, which communicated them to these Governments in accordance with the wish of Poland proper, asking the British and American Governments to be intermediary in giving those names to the Soviet Government. It is not the matter of the vanished Polish leaders alone which was the essence of Stalin's reply.

"The essence of that reply is a clear expression of the fact that Soviet policy, in accordance with czarist policy, intends to treat the Polish question as a question of Russian internal policy.

"In spite of all inter-Allied resolutions and agreements, Russian policy wants to impose a sphere of influence of Russian methods of political 'reconstruction' and 'free elections,' which have nothing in common with the principles adopted by those Allies with whom Poland has stood in close political and military collaboration from the beginning of the war."

## GENERAL BOR-KOMOROWSKI REVEALS THE INSIDE STORY OF THE 1944 WARSAW UPRISING

(Continued from page 14)

saw and did not take advantage of it to cross the river. I awaited this crossing until the very last day of the Uprising.

Q. According to rumors, alleged to have come from Polish sources in San Francisco, some people believe that there will be war with Russia?

A. I am a soldier not a politician, and as such strongly deprecate any such rumors.

Q. Did the General know the 15 Polish leaders who have been arrested by the Russians?

A. I knew them well, as great patriots and good democrats. They were in Warsaw during the Uprising, and I vouch

for them as good Allies and true to the Allied cause.

Q. Had the Russians good military reasons for not entering Warsaw during the rising?

A. Perhaps so, but I am not aware of them.

General Bor revealed that the Germans approached him three times after the Uprising with a proposal to cooperate with them. They suggested the liberation of the Polish prisoners, of General Bor himself and of Polish officers, and their return to Poland in order to fight against the Russians. One proposal was put to him by a high SS official, and the third was put to him in the Colditz prison camp by a representative of the German Foreign Ministry, a certain Beninghausen. All offers were firmly rejected by General Bor.





**7<sup>th</sup>** *now... all together!*  
WAR LOAN

CONTRIBUTED BY A FRIEND